

A
SERMON

Preached before the

A L D E R M E N

OF THE

City of London,

A T

St. Lawrence-Church, Jan 30. 168 $\frac{8}{1}$.

Being the day of the Martyrdome of

K. CHARLES I.

By GILBERT BURNET, D.D.

L O N D O N,

Printed for Richard Chiswel at the Rose and Crown in
St. Paul's Church-yard. 1681.

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Preached before the

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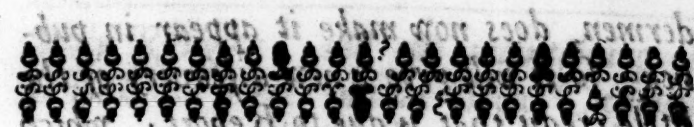
Being the day of the Translating of

K. CHARLES I.

By WILLIAM BURNHARDT



Printed by J. W. B. at the Press of the City of London, 1688



TO THE
Right Honourable
Sr. Patience Ward
LORD MAYOR of the City
of LONDON.

My Lord,

THE favourable account that was brought your Lordship of this Sermon (your self by an Indisposition being kept from hearing it) as it induced you to desire to see it in Print, which seconded by the Order of the Court of Aldermen,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

dermen does now make it appear in publick: so it will give a new discovery of the little credit that is due to Report: which though it errs more generally on the severer side, yet in this Instance was too partial to so poor a Performance.

But the Argument treated in it will cover many faults: Especially meeting with such Equitable Judges as your Lordship is. Since the acquitting the Reformed Religion of such a scandal as has been cast on it upon the account of that great wickedness then commemorated, and the persuading all Protestants to live in Peace and Love together, are subjects so acceptable to your Lordship, and so suitable to our present unhappy Circumstances, that the most imperfect Essay towards them will, I presume, be well received, and the Defects of it easily forgiven, by one that employs himself with so much Zeal and Fidelity in the securing our
Holy

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Holy Religion, and the maintaining of Truth and Peace in that Great City now under your Lordships Government.

May the God of Truth and Peace lead us into the way of his Truth, and make us know the things that belong to our peace; and may your Lordship be a great Instrument in promoting it. This is earnestly prayed for by.

My Lord,

Your Lordships most humble
and most obedient servant,

G. BURNET.

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ZECHARY VIII. 19.

Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, The Fast of the Fourth month, and the Fast of the Fifth, and the Fast of the Seventh, and the Fast of the Tenth shall be to the House of Judah joy and gladness and cheerful Feasts; therefore love the Truth and Peace.

IT may be justly doubted whether horrid and unexampled crimes, ought not rather to be buried in oblivion, than be remembred, though with the greatest detestation possible. The mentioning them too often, may make them grow too familiar to our thoughts: and some may be tempted to like them, and approve what it is designed they should abhor: Yet on the other hand, some things carry in the first appearance of them, such odious characters, that the nature of man shrinks at the very mentioning them; so that the frequent remembring them will encrease the horror at them: and the shewing the precipice over which some have fallen, may warn others to beware of approaching too near it, for fear of the like ruine and destruction.

I acknowledge it were better if we could have Job's wish, *That that day should perish, that darkness and the shadow of death should cover it, that it should not see the*

dayning of the day, nor should the light shine upon it. It were better to strike it out of our Kalendar, and to make our *January* determine at the 29th, and add these remaining days to *February*. But alas! this cannot be done; we cannot wipe out this blot: what was done, can never be forgotten. It cannot by others, and by us it ought not to be forgotten. The whole world lookt on with amazement, not knowing whether more to admire the heinousness of the crime, the wickedness of the actors, or the patience and constancy of the sufferer. The cry was loud on Earth, but much louder in Heaven. The shrieks and tears of many good Subjects, and particularly in this Great City, which, as I have been informed, spent that day in a general mourning, and bitter lamentation and astonishment, followed it fast, to deprecate those judgements which such guilt gave them cause to apprehend: but the prayers of this *Martyr* went before it, for averting that Curse, which he feared should (but prayed that it might not) fall on his people. We have been since above twenty years putting up by publique authority, and in the name of the whole Nation, *David's Prayer*, *Deliver us from blood-guiltiness*, O God, thou God of our our Salvation. So it may be now perhaps thought that after so long a continuance of mourning this sin is expiated, and the land purged from the defilement of it: Upon which some may ask the Question set down in the former Chapter, *Should I weep, separating my self as I have done these so many years?*

Chap. 7.3.

The *Jews* had during the seventy years of the Captivity Fasted in those months mentioned in my Text; the chief steps of that calamity which had so overwhelmed them having been made in these months. On the tenth month and the tenth day of the month (which

(which according to Arch-bishop *Usher* is exactly our 30th of January) the King of *Babylon* besieged *Jerusalem*: he took it on the fourth month. It was burnt on the fifth month: and on the seventh month was *Gedaliah* killed: Upon which the few that were left behind, were broken among themselves, and dispersed. But of all these that on the fifth month was the most solemn Fast; and therefore when the Question was put concerning the continuance of the Fast, that is only mentioned: and no wonder: For the burning of the Temple, was not only a temporal calamity, but it deprived them of all the means of obtaining the favour of God, of expiating their sins by sacrifices, and of consulting the *Urim* and *Thummim*. It seemed reasonable enough for them to Fast during the Captivity, while they lay under the sensible effects of these judgements, which had broke out upon them in those days: But that being over, and they being again restored to their Native Countrey, it was no unreasonable thing for them to put the Question, whether that should be still kept up. To this three things are answered.

2 King. 21.
1.
Ibid. ver. 3.
Ibid. v. 8.
Ibid. v. 25.

First, That they had not Fasted aright on these days, *When ye fasted and mourned in the fifth and seventh month, even these seventy years, did ye at all fast unto me, even unto me?* Intimating that it had been only Pageantry and matter of form; they had perhaps hanged down their heads like a Bull-rush, put on Sack-cloth, and covered their heads with ashes, which were the usual rites of mourning among them: but there had been nothing done on those days, suitable to the occasion, for averting the wrath of God which had then broke out, and was still hanging over them.

Ch. 7. v. 5.

Secondly, The Prophet directs them to do such things which became true penitents, and those that indeed afflicted their souls; to execute true judgement, and shew mercy and compassions every man to his neighbour, not to oppress the widow or the fatherless, the stranger nor the prisoner, and that none of them should imagine evil against his brother in his heart: and in this Chapter, that they should speak every man the truth to his neighbour, and execute the judgement of truth and peace in their Gates. This being done

Bid. 8, 9;

10. Ver. 17.

8. v. bid.

2. v. bid.

V. 16, 17.

The Third thing is in my Text, that upon their loving truth and peace, those black and mournful days should be converted to days of joy and gladness.

2 Chron.

35. 25.

How these Anniversaries were first set up, and by what authority, whether by the direction of any Prophet, or by common agreement, does not appear to us. We have both the Institution and the continuance of another Anniversary a little before this expressly set down. Upon *Josiah's* death, *Jeremy* that foretold what was to follow under the reigns of his degenerated issue, made a lamentation, and set it to be sung by the Quire of the mourners: upon which an Ordinance was made: and those lamentations continued in use to the day in which that Book of the *Chronicles* was writ: which, as appears by the last Verses, that mention the return of the Captivity under *Cyrus*, was above eighty years at least after *Josiah's* death: for his children reigned above ten years, and the Captivity lasted seventy; so long had that Anniversary been observed. And it seems to be almost a law of nature, to commemorate both mercies and judgements on those days in which they have been sent us.

We of this Island have had occasion for Fasts on all these months: On the fourth month, reckoning according to the *Jewish* account, were the fatal Standards set up: On the seventh the horrid Massacre and Rebellion of *Ireland* broke out, and in *England* on that same day of the month, but a year after, the first Battell at *Edge-hill* was fought: On the tenth and on the tenth day of it was that wickedness done which we now mourn for: The King was murdered, and the Government wholly subverted: and on the fifth month were his Majesties Armies, that now reigns, defeated both at *Dunbar* and *Worcester*. It might have been expected that our 29th of *May* should have worn out the remembrance of the 30th of *January*, and now at the end of two and thirty years it may be reasonably asked, Should we still continue to Fast and mourn? Shall the yearly return of this black and dismal day, with the melancholy thoughts and reflections which accompany it, be for ever observed? Shall we convey this entail of sorrow to our posterity? Does this blood continue still to cry for vengeance, as the blood of *Abel* did: or as the *Jews* say the blood of *Zacharias* the son of *Jehojada* the High Priest, continued still to bubble on the floor of the Court of the Temple, where he was killed, till the Captivity, that many thousand Priests being killed on the place, the Earth drunk it up: and shall neither the execution of Justice on the Murderers, nor the Prayers of the whole Nation remove this guilt?

On this occasion it may be no improper thing to run out on the horridness of so unexempl'd a wickedness: but I hope it is needless: I hope all men carry still in their minds such a horror at that fact, that

that their thoughts boil afresh within them at every time they reflect on it. Bloodshed without lawful authority fills the mind of the Criminal with black and terrible thoughts: and makes him oft a terrour to himself, so that either the dead Ghost, or the apprehensions of guilt, haunt and follow such till they grow even weary of life; since there can be no reparation made to the party injured: So that it is scarce possible for the Murderer to stop even the cry of Blood in his own Conscience. The Innocence, and the Dignity, and the Sacredness of the person Murdered, are vast aggravations: and if such a crime comes in the conclusion, after so great an effusion of blood, that it has run down like water; and above all, if the actors have done what they could to entitle God to it, doing it with the forms of Justice, so that in the place of judgement and righteousness, there was iniquity and wickedness, and by their high pretensions to Piety and Zeal for Religion, the enemies of all Religion have taken advantage to mock at true Holiness, and the enemies of the Reformed Religion have thought they were now furnished with somewhat, by which they might cast back that heavy but just imputation laid on them, of setting up the doctrines and encouraging the practices of deposing and killing of Kings, on the Protestants; All these things concur to aggravate this crime, *Blood defiles the land, and it cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it*: And by Moses law when that could not be found out, God appointed a solemn expiation to be made amongst the Jews, in the name of the whole Nation. Blood is of so crying a nature, that it is said of that shed by Manasses, that God would

Ecc1. 3. 16.

Numb. 35.
33.

Deut. 21.
6, 7, 8,
9, ver.

not

on the 30th of January, 1681.

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nor pardon it: neither his late Repentance, nor the Reformation carried on by *Josiah* could avert those judgments, that were the just punishments of such heinous sins. All these things concur to give us a right sense of that guilt, which we now lament and endeavour to remove.

2 King. 24.

4.

It may be expected that I should in the next place enlarge on the Vertues, the Piety, Chastity, Temperance, the Magnanimity and Constancy of mind of this Murdered Prince. But the performing this as it ought to be, I confess, is a task above my strength: especially coming after so many who have done it with such life, that any thing I could add, would be but a flat repetition of what has been often much better said. And indeed we have his character given us in such true and lasting colours, in that *Picture* which he drew for himself, in his *solitudes and sufferings*, that it is perhaps a piece of presumption to take up the Pencil again, and to add any touches to what is so perfect, that it may be made worse, but can hardly be the better for any addition. Besides, that the strains of a Panegyrick do not agree so well with the solemnities of a Fast. I shall therefore say no more, neither to raise the just esteem and veneration of this Royal Martyr, nor to possess you with more detestation of so unparalleled a wickedness; which as it had no pattern in any former age, so I hope shall never be a precedent for after times: But shall return to the Question put to the Prophet in the former Chapter, with the answer given to it both there and here, and in speaking to it, shall discourse of these three particulars.

First,

First, What ought to be the measures and rules of continuing Anniversary mournings upon such great occasions.

Secondly, What is to be done to have the occasions of our mourning converted into joy and gladness. We ought to *love the Truth and Peace.*

Thirdly, That upon our doing this sincerely, all the sad effects of that which we now mourn for, shall be so entirely removed, that our days of Fasting shall be turned into cheerful or solemn Feasts. To the First:

There is a temper to be observed in publique as well as in private mournings, that they be neither so short, as that it may thence appear we have a slight sense of matters of such great consequence; nor so long, as that either our sorrows rise out of measure high, or by the too frequent returns of those days, the object of our griefs grows too flat. There is a mean between these extremes; *There is a time to mourn as well as a time to rejoice: and everything is beautiful in its season.* I shall therefore offer two rules, by which it may be reasonably determined how long such solemn mournings ought to be continued, and apply them to the present occasion.

One is, As long as the sad effects of that which originally caused them, continue, we ought to keep up our Fasts: for so long God seems to continue his displeasure against us, and therefore we should be still renewing our intercessions to turn it away. As long as the Captivity lasted, the people of the Jews did not doubt continuing the observation of their Fasts, but when they were brought back again to their Land, it seemed then more proper to put this Question.

A Second

on the 30th of January 1680.

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A second is, When the same or the like sins, which procured those Judgments that are so much lamented, do continue: and when the circumstances of a Nation seem to be almost the same, that they were on the occasion that at first called for their mourning; then it is fit either to continue or to renew their observation of those set Fasts. This was the case at this time of the Jews, they were beginning to contract alliances with the Idolatrous Heathens round about them, which had let in the former Idolatry, that had been the cause of their former Captivity: they became guilty of the same immoralities, and therefore they are commanded *to love the Truth and Peace* that so they being delivered from the Wrath of God, might serve him without fear. And now to apply this to our present Occasion.

There were two very ill effects that followed upon the Crime acted this day, which still continue: The one was, the advantage that many weak and prejudiced persons took against the appearances of Religion, Prayer, and the motions of Gods Spirit; all these having been so much pretended to at that time. Many that were assured the fact was Barbarous, and against all Law, Divine and Humane, came upon that to infer, that Religion, the addressing to God in Prayer, and the being guided by the inward motions of Grace and Gods holy Spirit, were at best but the illusions of fancy, if not the contrivances of designing Men. The Inference was as unjust as could be: yet so it was, that this falling upon young and raw persons, who were by the heat of their tempers, much inclined to entertain those prejudices; and that being wrought on by so great an Agent of *Hell*, as the *Author of Leviathan*

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was;

was; many were upon this corrupted in their Principles about Religion in general. And for all the Sleights of Wit, the shews of Reason, and softness of Style that were in that Book, it could never have been so mischievously successful, as it then was, if it had not been for the scandal which were given by the impudent pretensions of many of that time. Their unintelligible way of talking about Religion, their crumbling into so many Sects, the aspirings of many under all the shews of Humility and Mortification, tended to make the Seeds of Atheism grow up plentifully. And to this, I speak it knowingly, we owe the beginnings of all those impious and immoral Maxims which have since overrun the Land. And do not these effects continue still? Is not Devotion accounted by many to be either a matter of Form, or a piece of Enthusiasm? for earnestness in Prayer, and depending on the inward assistances of Gods holy Spirit, how have men who know or value these things little themselves, taken occasion from thence to disparage them with much Impudence and Scorn? Some have thought they could not be esteemed Loyal, if they appeared devout: and therefore to purchase the one Character were willing not only to throw off, but openly to reproach the other all they could. What ill effects this has had, how the Nation has been much corrupted by these Maxims, and God highly offended, is so obvious to every Mans observation, that I need dwell no longer on it.

The other ill effect that still continues, is the prejudice that the Enemies of our Church have cast on the Reformed Religion: as holding that very Doctrine of killing Kings, for which they had been so justly charged. And perhaps

perhaps that which at present is the ground of all our fears, had its rise in a great measure from the Jealousies which upon this occasion were infused against the Protestant Religion. It will be therefore no improper thing to shew you how justly the Church of *Rome* is accused of this, and how unjustly it is cast on those of the Reformed Religion. That this charge is truly fastned on the Church of *Rome* will appear in these particulars.

The power of deposing Kings is certainly a Doctrine of their Church, as appears in the universal agreement to it, and the Tradition of it for above five Ages, in a more uninterrupted and uncontroverted series, in all that time, than can be shewed even for Transubstantiation it self. Now if a King is deposed by the Pope, and after such deposition, if he is not so tame as to lay aside his Regal Dignity, which it is very likely few Princes will do, then they being lawfully deposed, are Kings no more: and if they pretend to be Kings still, they are Usurpers: so he that kills them does not kill a King but an Usurper. And if the Pope creates a new Prince, which by the same Authority is vested in him, and is indeed a branch of the deposing power; then the new Prince being lawfully vested with the Regal Authority, may as justly authorise any to kill the deposed King, as a lawful King may set a price upon any Rebels head. This was well observed by those who undertook to defend the deposing power. *Swartz* writing against King *James* tells him in plain terms, a *That a King who is canonically deposed may be killed by any private man whatsoever*. *Valentia* says, *b That an heretical Prince may be by the Popes sentence deprived of life*: and *Becanus* though Confessor to an Emperor, *Ferdinand* the II. says, *c No man doubts but*

^a In Reg. Majest.
^b Brit. Lib. 6.
^c 4. St. 10.
^d In Thom. Tom. 3.
^e Disp. 151.
^f 8. 4. p. 2.
^g Cont. Aug. p. 115.

if Princes are contumacious the Pope may order their lives to be taken away. I might name many more, but these may suffice: especially since it is visible that this is a certain and necessary consequence of the deposing Doctrine. And though Gerson one of the best Men of his Age, did at the Council of Constance where the Papal power was troden under foot, and the Court of Rome had no influence (so vain a thing it is to distinguish between the Court and Church of Rome) press much for the obtaining of a Decree, That no Subject should murder his King or Prince, even that could not easily pass: and he himself was in danger of his life for soliciting it so earnestly. In conclusion it was done, but with such a reservation as shews they would only condemn the assassinations of private cut-throats; for those were only condemned Who killed their King without waiting for the sentence of any Judge whatsoever: so if sentence is past by any Judge (the Ecclesiastical as well as the Civil), then this decree notwithstanding, it will be lawful for a Subject to kill his King.

I might here run out into many Instances to shew you how acceptable the killing of Kings has been to those of that Church: how Sixtus the V. made a Panegyrique upon Clement murdering Henry the III. of France before a Congregation of Cardinals: how Francis Veronno wrote both in defence of that fact, and of Chastells attempt on Henry the IV. how Garnet and Hall that suffered for the most desperate attempt that ever was, I mean the Gun-powder Treason, are reckoned among the Martyrs in the Catalogues set out by the Jesuites: and under the pictures and prints made for Garnet he is called the true Martyr of Christ. Legends of miracles have

have been also made for them, which will be reserved till a fit time comes for their Canonization : which they deserve full as well as *Thomas Becket* did, who was the greatest Saint in the Church for some Ages, the blessed Virgin, nay, which is more, Jesus Christ himself not excepted, if we may judge by the devotion that was payed at his Shrine, since by the Legier books of *Canterbury*, it appears yet on Record, that in some years above 950 l. was offered at his Altar, and not a six pence at our Saviours Altar, and but a few pounds at the blessed Virgins. And to shew how well they approved of the Gunpowder Treason at *Rome*, *Gerard*, and *Greenwoll* or *Tesmond*, two of the principal Conspirators, were so well entertained there, that escaping thither from the Justice of this Nation, the one was made the Popes Penitentiary, and the other lived in the English Colledge there, and officiated often in *St. Peters* in the Vatican.

After all this evidence, in which I have not once named *Mariana*, though they would make us believe, he is the only person of their Communion that ever maintained this opinion, it is apparent that the killing of Kings has been openly taught, and publicly encouraged in that Church: and that it is a necessary consequence of the Deposing Doctrine. What hand they had in this execrable crime, and how far they disguised themselves into all the forms and divisions about Religion that were among us, I shall not positively assert: It has been done with very much assurance, by persons of great worth and credit : and there are many probabilities to induce us to believe it.

Two things were observable in the methods of carrying on this great wickedness, clearly borrowed from them :

them: The one was, the actors pretending to Enthusiasms, and inward directions for what they did, though it was clearly contrary both to the Laws of God and Man. That the person of our Prince is Sacred, and exempted from punishment, is a constant Maxim of our Government: which makes his ill Ministers and Councillors accountable for every thing that is done amiss. That the House of Commons cannot set up, by their single Authority, a Court to judge of the life of the meanest subject: that a force put on either House, though but a small part were violently excluded, makes it to be no more a House of Parliament; and that much more when the far greater part was secluded, they were certainly no House of Commons: That one House without the concurrence of the other, and the Royal assent joined to both, could not do any thing legally: and finally, That the Officers of the Army had no right to assume the Government into their hands; were all things so manifest according to the constitutions of this Kingdom, that they who acted so contrary to them, knew they could never justify themselves by either Law or President. It was necessary then to fly to somewhat, that should seem to be above all the limitations and restraints of Law: and that was to pretend secret directions from God. A Doctrine that overthrows the main and fundamental principle of the Reformation, which is, That in all things which relate to God, the Scriptures only are to be our Rule. And indeed it is hard to determine whether the referring all controversies of Religion to one infallible Judge, or the giving up of men to the heats of their own fancies, be the most dangerous principle.

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The latter seems worse: for the former leaves us to the mercy of one man, whereas the other exposes mankind to the fury and humour of every brainfick or designing man. It is certain, that in the publick actions of our lives, and in moral matters, Inspiration without a warrant from Scripture, or a clear proof of a Divine Mission attested by some publick and supernatural sign or miracle, is not only a fallacious, but may be a pernicious guide. That this was all borrowed from the Writings, and the publick and encouraged practices of the Church of *Rome*, from whom that which is true and rank Fanaticism has issued out, though perhaps many of those among us are not aware of it, has been made out so fully, and beyond contradiction by an eminent Writer of our own, that I need add nothing in confirmation of what must be universally acknowledged, by all who have read his learned Book on this subject.

Dr. Stillfleet of the Fanaticism of the Church of Rome.

A 2d thing that appeared in carrying on the wickedness of this day, borrowed from the Doctrines of that Church, was, a principle that all the rules and constitutions of Government may be broke through by the founder and better part of the people at their pleasure: that Princes and Parliaments, and the major part of either House were subject not only to the whole body of the people, for this would not have served their turn, but to the founder and better part. The resolving all power in the people, was first taken up by the assertors of the Popes deposing power: for they argued, that if it belonged to the people, then the Pope representing the Universal Church, all their rights did accrew to him; so that in their names he was to dispose of Crowns as he

he pleased. But here these maxims were thus varied : The power was said to belong to the people in common, but was to be managed by the better part, that is the stronger, *the Army*, who assumed to themselves the name of the better and sounder part : for I am sure I speak within bounds, if I say it was not the Twentieth man, and I do not exceed if I say it was not the hundredth man of *England* that approved of it.

It is therefore a most unjust blemish cast on the Protestant Religion, or the English Nation, to accuse either the one or the other for that which was but the crime of a few hot headed Enthusiasts, or ambitious Souldiers : and those who suffer themselves to be wrought on by so ill grounded a prejudice, and to be so far carried by it, as to renounce our Communion, and go over to the Church of *Rome*, discover plainly that they neither understand their principles nor ours. We detest and condemn it, and they encourage and approve the like practices : and they may as justly accuse the Protestant Religion of Adultery and Theft, because some among us have been avowedly guilty of these sins. The Church of *England* hath ever witnessed her detestation of these practices and principles, and shared deeply in the sufferings of their King : The whole Nation by their Representatives in Parliament has condemned it, and appointed this solemn humiliation for expiating the guilt of it. And many of the most considerable Dissenters, did even then, when it was not so safe to do it as it is now, openly declare against it both in their Sermons and Writings. This is what in Justice cannot be denied them, and many of them were no less active and industrious, and were indeed highly instrumental

mental in the bringing home of his Majesty that now Reigns. If some few have justified the shedding of this blood, as their number hath been but inconsiderable, so their Maxims have been chiefly borrowed from Popish Writers. One great instance of this appeared in many speeches that were printed at that time, and were said to be delivered in their Junto, which were almost word for word taken out of a book, that had been often condemned, and was strictly prohibited, that went under the name of *Dolman*; but was believed to be written by *Parsons* the Jesuit, who was perhaps one of the greatest men that that order has produced, so manifestly did they copy from the Jesuites School: and by that great impiety then acted by them, they have given some seeming but very false colours for taxing the Reformed Religion; by which Popery has had such footing among us. By these things it may appear that we are yet under the ill effects of the guilt of this day, both in the strength that Atheism received by it, and the advantages which the Papists have taken from it.

The other reason of continuing publick mournings is, when we are warned by any sad symptoms, to fear the return of the like or of new calamities: and that this still presses on us, to repeat our solemn humiliations, is so evident, that I need not stand long to make it out. We have been long under fears, that it might happen to us as it did to the Jewish Church, when it was her lamentation, *The anointed of the Lord, who was the breath of our Nostrils, is fallen into their pits.* Our King is more to us in our circumstances than theirs was to them, and we have had more cause to fear that he should fall by the hand of a *Clement*, or a *Ravilliac*,

Lament. 4.
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and

and then what a black prospect have we of most terrible confusions to follow, on such a fatal blow? or if even that sacred life should in a natural way expire, what can we see beyond it but fatal and gloomy days? Or if the disorders among our selves should burst out into blood, what distractions and miseries are like to follow? It is not to be conceived, that among them who are so zealous in the opposing of a Plot against His Majesties Person, our holy Religion, and the peace and safety of the Nation, there can be any that dares mock God and Man so audaciously as to be designing any such thing, at the same time that they are accusing others for it. To suppose it otherwise, were to give credit to the false suggestions and base contrivances of those who design nothing more than to take us off from watching over their motions; by engaging us one against another, and infusing such Jealousies as may effectually divide us among our selves: the only way that is now left, without a foreign power, first to break, and then to conquer those in separated parties, whose united strength they know they cannot resist. I shall therefore rather encourage you to continue in this duty, than endeavour to persuade you to it. Let us remember that we are commanded to Fear God, and next to

1 Pet. 2. 17 Honour the King, and by well doing to put to silence the ignorance of foolish men: and that every soul ought to be subject to the higher powers, for the powers that are, are of God, and who so resists them, resists the Ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation; for they are the Ministers of God; wherefore we must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but for Conscience sake. Christ himself taught us to render to Caesar the things that

1 Pet. 2. 17

Rom. 13.

12. 13. 14. 5.

that

that are *Cæsars*, and to God the things that are Gods : Math. 22. 27.
and he being in his state of humiliation but a private
subject, would not suffer the Sword to be drawn in his
defence, and expressly said, that though he was a King, Math. 26. 52.
yet *his Kingdom was not of this world, else his servants*
would have fought for him. These things are plain and
clear, and need no Commentary : His Apostles also char-
ged those whom they employed in settling the Churches,
to put them in mind to be subject to Principalities and Titus 3. 1.
Powers, to obey Magistrates, and to pray for Kings, and
all that are in Authority ; that under them we may lead a
quiet and peaceable life, in all Godliness and Honesty. 1 Tim. 2. 2.
And if it is ever seasonable to enlarge on these duties, it
is most necessary on such a day ; and that's a principal
reason for the continuance of this Anniversary : And
thus I hope I have sufficiently vindicated the continuance
of our publick humiliation on this and such like solemn
days.

2. The next thing I proposed to speak to, was the
duties that belong to such solemn Mournings : Great
and extream sorrow cannot be expected, when so few
that were concerned in it are alive ; or if they are, I
cannot believe that any such are here in this place : And
for them that were not so concerned, a bare horror at
the fact, with prayers for averting the Judgments that
may be consequent to it, is too slight a thing. My
Text directs us to things of more value and impor-
tance. We are to *love the Truth and Peace.* By *Truth*
is either to be understood the entire complex of their
Religion, called often by *David, the way of Gods Truth ;*
or by *Truth* is meant candor and fidelity among men :
so this applied to us must be understood either of the

truth of the Gospel, or of sincerity and honesty in our discourses and actions.

For the first of these, we may well call our Religion *Truth*; since we believe nothing, but what Jesus Christ and his Apostles delivered to the world, in the name of God: we have no new Doctrines added to this, introduced by false and deceitful men, supported by lying wonders, or counterfeited Writings. Our Doctrine as it is *the truth of God*, so is to be maintained and promoted by means suitable to the being and nature of that God from whom it is derived. We found nothing on made stories, or forged Records; we teach none of the Doctrines of falshood and equivocation, breach of faith or vows: dispensing with Oathes, dissolving of Leagues or Treaties. All these we have left to that Church, that as she grew up by lies and forgeries, so continues that trade still, which has been in former ages of such advantage to her. I need not insist on the Popes dispensing what the Oathes of Allegiance of Subjects to their Princes, breaking and dissolving Treaties, though confirmed by Oathes and Sacraments; a publick instance of which appeared in the battel of *Varna*, where the Turk appealed to Jesus Christ, whose name those Christians had affronted by breaking what was sealed by the most sacred tie. The issue was both fatal and disgraceful to the Christian Army: All was done by the Popes Instigation, as well as Authority. A publicker instance was yet given at *Constance*, which shewed that the Church was no better than the Court of *Rome*: When those who came upon a safe conduct, were notwithstanding that condemned to be burnt: and a Decree was made, That Faith given to Hereticks in
such

such a sort was not to be kept; though they had come to the place of judgment trusting to it, and would not have come without it. And how far they have since that time carried on the Doctrine of Lying and Swearing falsely, may appear by this one clear and undeniable proof: In March 79. there were many Propositions complained of at Rome, gathered out of the Writings of the Casuists, among which these are two.

A man either alone or before others, may when he is asked, or of his own accord, or for his diversion, or any other end, swear that he did not do a thing, which he really did: having a secret meaning either of some other thing which he did not do, or of another way of doing it, or of any other Truth which he adds to it, in which case he is in Truth neither a Liar nor is he Perjured.

Decree of the Pope lately printed in Latin and English. Prop. 26.

A just cause of using those secret meanings is as oft as it is necessary or profitable for the preservation of Life, or Honour, or saving ones Goods, or any other act of Virtue, so that the concealment of Truth seems in that case expedient or desirable.

Prop. 27.

Upon this a condemnation followed by the Pope and the Congregation *de propaganda Fide*. In it we have a Confession beyond exception that these Tenets have been taught among them. But it may be urged that they are now condemned: It is true they are so: But first, though they have been long complained of, they were not condemned till within these two years. Secondly, They were not condemned by the Pope in the Consistory; which would have made the Censure more Authoritative: but by the Pope and the Cardinals of the Court

Court of the Inquisition: upon which a remarkable thing followed. The Jesuites who were much provoked at this Censure, moved the *Procureur de Roy*, or Attorney General at *Paris*, to put in a complaint against the publishing that Decree, since it came from the Court of the Inquisition; which not being acknowledged in *France* nothing flowing from that Authority could be received in that Kingdom: upon which the Decree was prohibited and suppressed: so ready are they to bear down any thing that strikes against these strong holds of Satan among them. And thirdly, This Censure is so penned that it does not import a condemnation, but is indeed only a prohibition: for these Propositions are not declared to be impious and immoral, or contrary to the Laws of God and of Nature: That had been more candid and ingenuous dealing. They are only condemned as being *scandalous and pernicious in practice*, that is to say of ill consequence: and all are required in the vertue of *holy obedience* and under the pains of *Excommunication* to teach them no more: so if a case happens that these may turn useful in practice, then a faculty may be secretly granted for taking off this Censure. From this it may appear what a door they have opened for the most disingenuous practices imaginable: which is a shrewd presumption that their Doctrine is not the Truth, when it is mixed with such arts that savour more of him that was a liar from the beginning than of the God of Truth.

We then that are of the Truth ought to Love it, to reckon it our greatest honour that we are called to the Knowledge and profession of this holy Faith: we ought to adhere to it as long as we Live, and to be ready to lay down

down our Lives for it, if God should call us to it. But our *loving* it, signifies more than barely to speak honorably or passionately concerning it: or to like it in opposition to Popery. To be a Protestant without being first a Christian can signifie nothing before God. To Love it then, is inwardly to delight in it, to be wrought on by its Precepts, so as to conform both our Hearts and Lives to it. Then we Love it sincerely when we measure our Belief by the Doctrines it delivers, and our Lives by the Rules it gives us. And as a particular branch, of *Truth* in the general notion, we must be candid and sincere in all our discourses and dealings: We are not to advance even the best ends by acts of injustice; but to be strict to these Rules of Truth the Gospel prescribes: Not to lie, or spread lies, nor to slander even our greatest Enemies; not to deceive or couzen those that deal with us: but to do to others as we would have others do to us; to do every thing as considering we are under the allseeing Eye of that God, who will judge us for all our actions ere long, and will bring to light the hidden things of dishonesty. If we do thus love the Truth, both in the speculations of it and in reducing these to practice, then we have made one step towards that here promised in my Text.

The other thing enjoined is, That we love *Peace* likewise; not *Peace* in prejudice of, or opposition to Truth: but that *as far as possibly we can we may live peaceably with all men*. Where we are in all things agreed, there to love Peace is an easie and cheap piece of vertue: Of this may be said what our Saviour said of loving them that love us, *Do not Heathens and Publicans the same?* It is a sign of a nature strangely corrupted to begin

gin quarrels and contests, when there is no cause given for them. To avoid this is such a common piece of good nature, that it is rather a wonder how a man can do otherwise: but then does it appear that we love peace, if we can bring our minds to live peaceably with those that differ from us, and have perhaps besides the difference of Opinion really wronged us, or at least done their endeavours. If with such we live peaceably then it appears that we are indeed the Sons and lovers of Peace. It is a false Maxim to think we are then the truest Protestants, when we have departed the furthest that is possible from every opinion or practice of the Church of *Rome*: for in this we may run into extreams: But we are sure we can never run into any extream, by receding as far as we can from that ill temper of mind, which naturally follows that Religion, or rather is become a part of it. How little they love Peace, is apparent from the conduct of Religion in their Hands from Pope *Victors* days downwards. He condemned the Eastern Churches for a thing of so little consequence, as whether *Easter* was to be observed on the 14 day of the moneth or on the Sunday following. Since that time it were endless to shew you what disquiet they have given to the Christian World. They broke with the Greek Churches because they would not become subordinate to them: and then pretended other things, as that they Consecrated leavened and not unleavened Bread in the Sacrament, and that they Taught that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father by the Son, and not from the Son as well as from the Father: and upon these things not only broke Communion with them, but hindred the Princes of the Western Churches to give them any assistance,

assistance, to defend them from the impressions that the Turks were making on them; and resolved rather to deliver up those ancient Churches, and so many Millions of Souls, to Mahometans, than that there should be any Christians upon Earth that would not become in all things obedient and subject to the Papacy. Shall I add to this, their sending so many great Princes with vast Armies, to be destroyed in the Wars, for recovering *Palestine*, which they called the holy War? The many Croisado's that they Proclaimed against Hereticks or even Catholick Princes, as they called them, upon any imperious demands of theirs, when the Emperors or Kings did not tamely deliver up their Prerogatives, as well as their Necks to be trampled upon by them? It were long to reckon up the Princes they have deposed, and the Wars set on by them; but it were endless to reckon all the dismal effects of them. How was *Italy* and *Germany* rent in pieces by their means, with the factions of the *Guelphes* and *Gibellines*? And how often did *England* and *France* tremble at their thunders? Surely these cannot be the Sons of Peace, nor the Head of them the Vicar of the Prince of Peace. Those that dare differ from them, know what the fruits of their Peace is: To be hunted after, To be damned first, and burnt next, are all the effects of their lenity. And as a great man expressed it pleasantly, *Though we are not sure that all whom they damn are damned, yet we are very sure that all whom they burn are burnt.* L. Faulk-land. It is a vain attempt to hope ever to be at Peace with them, for that on which their Church founds all their other Doctrines, being her Infallibility, it is a foolish thing to endeavour to convince them, that they have been in

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any one error, who make this the fundamental Article of their Religion, that their Church cannot err. So that all such designs, shew either the simplicity and weakness, or the vanity and the self-conceit of the undertakers. There is no peace to be had with them but at the expence of Truth: if we will renounce our Religion, and believe whatever they shall think fit to prescribe, we may hope to purchase their favour; on other terms we must despair of it: and I hope we will not buy it so dear.

But since we cannot have peace with them, let us seek to have it among our selves: God be thanked none of our differences are such as we may despair of reconciling them; or at least of bearing with one anothers infirmities and mistakes. When we come to die we will have another sense of these things than we now have. Then all those heats and animosities which do now inflame us, will yield us no comfort; but on the contrary, will beget in us severe challenges. Of this I my self was lately an eye witness when called to assist one on his death-bed, who had allowed himself to write with as much virulency as he could invent: but then he with many tears lamented it. It is true, he did not retract his opinions, nor was it thought seasonable at such a time to disturb him with controversy; but he sincerely repented of that bitterness of spirit, upon the account of our differences, and that censuring and contradicting humour to which he had given too much way before: He wist his Soul with the good men of the Church of England. He vowed that if he recovered, he should never return to that Vomit: and because he thought he was to die, he signed a retraction of all that

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du Moulin.

on the 30th of January 168^o.

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that was personal in his Writings; and exhorted all others to manage their differences with a more meek and Christian temper. I mention this in so publick a manner, because he authoris'd the printing of that retraction, which he signed on his death-bed: and I enlarge the more on this, hoping that such an example, from so learned and zealous a man, will have great influence on others to moderate their heat, and to allay their passions. Oh! for more of *that wisdom that is from above, which is first pure, then peaceable, and easie to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisie.*

The circumstances of this day should dispose us all more to this happy temper. I cannot say the breach between the late blessed King and his Parliament, or the War that followed was begun or carried on meerly upon the account of Religion; but certainly the sourness that was on peoples tempers by reason of their differences in Religion, set it on much, and made it more lasting, and end more Tragically. Many were transported at first beyond their duties, by the extream way of carrying matters before the War, by some that were more zealous then prudent: and certainly things were driven much further in conclusion, than was at first intended by them that took up Arms. There is a fatal series in some distractions; one step not only makes way for another, but makes it in some sort necessary for their security that have gone too far. In the end all were losers, and the Nation was like to be ruined. Those of the Church not only lost all that they enjoyed, their Goods, and their Benefices and Dignities, but they lost him who was their *Head on Earth*, who

was and still must be, one of the greatest Glories of this Church. Those of the separation were not gainers by it; a new party not thought of at first, rose up and took the game out of their hands: and when they had forced the Parliament, and killed the King, they entitled the rest to all they had done: and pretended they had gone on truly according to the principles upon which they had set out at first. And though they were gentler to these of the Division, than to those of the Church, yet they were to have been devoured at last, if a happy revolution had not taken the Nation out of their hands. Upon such a sad experiment, especially seconded with those dreadful hazards to which we see our selves now exposed, it might be expected that men of all sides should grow wiser and more temperate; and that many that are for the Church should abate of their stiffness, in things not Essential; and that they on the other hand, that insist on some indifferent matters, would consider things better without any heat and animosity. And thus if we come to *love the Truth and Peace*, that is, to secure the Protestant Religion against those enemies of Truth and Peace at *Rome*, and unite at home all that are capable of it, by adjusting matters among our selves, and those that cannot come into that Union, being at least inoffensive to them that do, and so all living in Love and Peace one with another, then we may hope to see that accomplished in our case, which is in my Text promised to the *Jews*, the third thing I proposed to speak to.

3. That, all the sad effects of that for which we now mourn shall be then entirely removed; that our days of Fasting shall be turned into solemn and cheerful Feasts: then should our twenty ninth of May, swallow up the remembrance of the thirtieth of January: or perhaps as the Prophet foretold such happy deliverances should come to the Jews, as should make even that out of *Egypt*, be forgotten; so we might hope for such days as should out-shine and darken the very twenty ninth of May. Then might we hope to see *Halcyon* days, or, to speak in an English phrase, *Queen Elizabeth* days again. If we were delivered from the fears of Popery, and an end were put to our contests at home; if King and People, if City and Country, if Conformists and Dissenters all would happily conspire in the duties proposed in my Text, of *loving Truth and Peace*, Then should all our drooping Hearts revive again, all the mists that now environ us should vanish; all our fears and jealousies should fall off; and we being of one Heart and Mind should be the Paradise and Joy of the whole Earth, and the Glory and Bulwark of the Reformed Religion: and this great City should be a City wherein Righteousness should dwell. Then should we lie down and rise in Peace: Alarms and Distractions should cease: Peace should be within your Gates, and Prosperity within your Houses, or rather Palaces for such many of them are. Oh may we ever hope to see such days, and such a time. If we come to *love the Truth and Peace*, then shall even this Fast of the tenth month,

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according to the Jewish account, be to us Joy and
 Gladness and a cheerful Feast. The God of Truth
 and Peace give us Grace to set about it sincerely.
 To him be all Honour and Glory both now and ever-
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swallow up the remembrance of the thirtieth day
 away: or perhaps as the Prophet foretold such hap-
 py deliverance should come to the Jews, as should
 make even that out of Egypt, be forgotten: so we
 might hope for such days as should outshine and
 darken the very twenty ninth of May. Then might we
 hope to see such days, or to speak in an English
 phrase, Queen Elizabeth's days again. If we were de-
 livered from the fears of Popery, and an end were
 put to our contests at home, if King and People
 if City and County, if Commonwealth and Churches
 all would happily compare in the duties proposed in
 my Text, of living justly and Peace. Then should
 all our drooping Hearts revive again, all the mills
 that now grieve us should vanish, all our fears
 and jealousies should fall, if we being of one
 Heart and Mind should be the friends and joy of
 the whole Earth, and the Glory and Belov'd of
 the Reformed Religion: and this great City should
 be a City wherein Righteousness should dwell.
 Then should we live down and rise in Peace: At-
 tains and Distinctions should cease: Peace should
 be within your Gates, and Prosperity within your
 Houses, or rather Palace for such many of them
 are. Oh may we ever hope to see such days, and
 such a time, if we come to see the Time and
 Place, then shall even this Fast of the thirtieth

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